1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

When we see it rise again,
I say to you—Go!
Hítcia hdhina!(12)

These are only a few of the scraping-stick songs; there are probably hundreds of them. More will be quoted in connection with the ceremonies for the salt pilgrims and for driving away evil.

The ceremony of the Archie group is unique, for no other village had a similar shrine. Some, however, instead of opening and cleaning a shrine, opened the village fetish, recited the customary wise speeches, without which it was dangerous to expose the sacred objects, and perhaps sang the scraping-stick songs. Mesquite Root, a very old village related to the Archie group, kept a sacred basket hidden on one of the nearby hills. The keeper of the smoke, who was its custodian, fetched the basket to the council house at the time of the budding of the saguaro, at flowering, at forming of the fruit, and just before picking. He placed fresh eagle down in the basket and recited the wise speech, making a wish that the cactus might grow well.(26)

Kaka, at the west of the reservation, also used the sacred bundle. Kaka is not related to the Archie group, but speaks a distinct dialect and is thought of by the Archie people as an abode of sorcery, sure sign of strangeness. However, its bundle ceremony was similar to that of Mesquite Root, and its boy and girl dancers seem to have been representatives of the "flood children." The bundle was hidden outside the village, as important fetishes often are, but in April the keeper of the smoke brought it to the council house and opened it in the presence of the elders. If the contents were damp, he was assured of plenty of rain for the summer; if they were dry, there would be little.

The keeper smoked over the bundle and made the wise speech. Then scraping-stick songs were sung, while a dance was performed by two boys and two girls, evidently representing the "flood children." Their bodies were spotted with white paint to represent the corn, and they had a black streak across the eyes. The boys wore cotton kilts, and the girls the old-style Papago skirts, which were merely knee-length kilts, made of home woven cotton. In their hands they carried eagle down. After the ceremony the dancers

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

maki, (gray mountain) famous in Papago song, and Actum Grande, the Mouth of the Big Wash. With four hundred inhabitants Actum Grande had an offshoot — Gubo, the modern Cubo (kĭ wo'o, Big Pond), but in time the big pond disappeared, the whole valley became depopulated,[1] the Perigua people were invited down to repopulate Cubo, which therefore has an intimate connection with the older village. Its wells were below the border, Foam Well, Ground Owls and Sweet water. The small settlements around Camote, which was really only a field for gathering roots, use Molinitas, which is Tecalote's well. The northern ones used Red Well, until they themselves dug at Walls Well.

4. KOKOLOLOTI DIALECT GROUP

This division represents the extension, into American Papagueria, of the Hispanized area to the south. The Jesuit missions to the Pimans were, with the exception of San Xavier, all in what is now Mexico, on the Altar and San Ignacio rivers. But they had frequent communication with the heathen Pimas who came to stay for long periods working for their food and receiving religious instruction. There is record of Pimas from the Gila making this sort of visit but it must have been much more common among the southern Papagos, only a few days journey away, as are the villages on both sides of the present border.

Tecalote was one of those villages, with territory on both sides of the border. Its old Papago name tcukuht kuh, (owl cry) became translated into Mexican Tecalote (Nahua tecalotl, owl) and its people, by a doubly reduplicated plural are called kokololoti.[2] All its connections are with the river valleys of the present Mexico. Its dialect shows the influence of Spanish since it is not only interlarded with Spanish words but has lost the constant aspiration of the northern speech and substituted a lengthened vowel more in consonance with the Romance languages. The dialect is much ridiculed by the Archie people who profess not to understand it.

Most Tecalote people still speak Spanish. From the well stocked missions to the south, they learned the raising of cattle and began to own them and to ride horses long before either was custom reached the north. They were frequently called on for help by the Spanish and Mexican soldiers and many of them served as scouts and acquired guns before the northerners.

[1] Father Bonaventura.

[2] Papago words are all accented on the first syllable and since the language could not accept a word accented in the middle, it split it into two, *teca loti* and reduplicated both. The *te* got lost in the process.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

551 the important names are still the kinship terms, and the nicknames which are a source of amusement and gossip for everyone.

MARRIAGE

581 Marriage is the normal adult state among the Papago. In the old days there were few bachelors and almost no unmarried women. Today there are more single adults, but they are a very small proportion of the tribe, and spinsters
582 are looked upon as something of a curiosity. Girls may marry at fourteen and boys at sixteen, but the usual ages seem to be between sixteen and eighteen for girls and between eighteen and twenty for boys.

584 According to the old custom—practiced in a few cases as recently as ten years ago—marriages were arranged by the families of the bride and groom, usually without consulting the young people concerned. Nowadays young Papago almost without exception select their own mates and consult their parents later. Usually, however, the parent's wishes are followed, although a few young people have braved family disapproval to marry whom they pleased.

582 Apparently the chief prerequisite for marriage is that the young couple be unrelated, a restriction strengthened by the ban laid by the Roman Catholic church on marriage within the third degree of relationship. In recent years there have been several cases of marriage between first cousins without more stringent penalties than adverse gossip, but one such couple in the conservative
[684] Hickiwan District were ostracized by both their families, who said that they were "living like dogs."

Because of this general restriction against marriage between close relatives, young people customarily used to marry outside their own communities where nearly everyone was related. In the larger villages, where new blood has come in and therefore relationships are not so close, many young people who are neighbors marry.

Whatever their birthplace, some Papago say that the bride and groom used to belong to the same dialect group. This was less a result of sanction than of circumstance; before there were many roads on the Reservation and until many people went to work in the mines or cotton fields, Papago seldom met
● [186] those of any other dialect group. Even now, though there are many intermixtures of dialect, there is still a strong in-group feeling, and outsiders are teased or ridiculed not only for the difference in their speech but also because
582 of their personal appearance and mannerisms. A bride from a different dialect
591 group coming to her husband's home must anticipate a good deal of such

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

villages, travel widely over the Reservation, it is possible that the prestige they carry will eventually make their subdialect the language for the whole Reservation.

However, there is still a strong in-group feeling. Villages of the same dialect are likely to line up together on social and political questions, and there is much good-natured banter about the supposed superiority of each group. Also, outside influences have left and are leaving impressions of varying depth and extension upon the different groups. Since these influences have come from different national groups (Spanish, Mexican, American) and still come from different classes among the various nationals (priests, missionaries, teachers, ranchers, miners, and government employees), it is likely that at least the difference between dialect groups which result from differing outside influences will remain for some time.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter VII

THE PAPAGO AND OTHER PEOPLES

773 ONE of the Papago myths accounts for the division of mankind into races. A long time ago, after the Papago had emerged from the underworld, they were plagued by an eagle who killed people and carried them off to his aerie. No man was able to kill the eagle, and at last the Papago called upon their hero I'itoi for help. When I'itoi had conquered the vicious bird, he began to revive the corpses of the victims. Those who had been dead the longest and were most decayed and pallid he turned into white people. Because they had been dead too long to remember anything, I'itoi gave them the power of writing, so that they could put things down to help their memories. From corpses who were better preserved and came up kicking, he made the Apache, who always gave the first blow in battles but in the end were conquered. The Papago came up fighting, but they always finally won. Other Indian tribes were created in similar fashion (there seems to be doubt as to the origin of Mexicans and Negroes). This story, the Papago say, proves that all men are of the same race as the Papago, but they themselves are "the people." The center of the universe is the sacred mountain, Baboquivari. Papago medicine men are superior because they have greater power than other people. The Desert People themselves are superior because they have made a living from the desert as no one else has been able to do.

● 186 It is interesting to note that the Papago, though modest and retiring as individuals, reveal in their tradition the ethnocentricity characteristic of most peoples. They also have their stereotypes for outsiders. In this chapter we shall discuss the Papago's relations with, and attitudes toward, other groups.

OTHER INDIANS

609 For years the Papago have had close contacts with the Pima of the Salt and Gila River reservations, most recently through work in the cotton fields and truck farms owned by Pima. These people are considered by the Papago to

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

871 able to all Papago children. At present there is no secondary education on the reservations, and, although high-school subjects are offered at both government and religious boarding schools in the vicinity, attendance at these schools is limited by the fact that they necessitate children being away from home for long periods. The extension of the present system to provide junior high schools and a central senior high school at Sells, with boarding facilities for those who need it, has been proposed by the Agency. The argument for the latter is that children in villages too remote for daily bus transportation and those whose parents work off the reservations for long periods would attend more regularly if there were boarding facilities at day schools. Another pressing need is some general supervision of all schools, so that a co-ordinated and consistent educational program may be offered.

Proposals for the improvement of Papago education do not emanate solely from the Agency staff, for most of the Papago want some sort of schooling for their children, as they realize the value and the practical necessity of speaking English. Thus it is the rare family that does not make some effort to send its children to school. However, it is also the rare family that sends them regularly and gives them the kind of push and encouragement that many white children receive. Adults see some of the values of schooling, but they leave it to the children to make the effort to attain these values.

871 186 But the Papago are by no means completely satisfied with the type of education available on the Reservation. In the past, schools were established without regard to the wishes of the villages, and there was strong resistance in some areas; therefore, in recent years schools have been set up only on request. For example, the Hickiwan District school was established at the request of a few families, but until very recently it was opposed by several other families who so controlled the rest of the population that a very small proportion of the children attended. These conservatives saw the school as a symbol of encroachment, one of the improvements which might make their land more desirable to whites and as one of the many techniques of the white man for doing away with Indian life. The controversy led to actual hostilities. Now, however, opposition has died down, and about half the children attend. The families in this district who send their children to school are those who see the material advantages to be gained. They have no intention of giving up "being Indian," but they believe that being able to speak English *when necessary* will bring better jobs, more money, clothes, amusements, and food luxuries—things they have come to esteem and desire.

871 Even the more acculturated Papago are not usually in full accord with the aims and methods of government schools. Many of them went to the old

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

466 mine officials have gone to some trouble to provide satisfactory living conditions for Papago employees and their families. For them they have built neat small houses with sanitary facilities. Since they are fair with their employees, they expect good steady work in return. In an effort to combat absenteeism (particularly from drunkenness), mine officials encouraged the organization of Ajo Papago with a council and a "chief," after the fashion of their home villages. A representative was to attend, but not to vote in, the tribal council meetings. This is a particularly interesting development, since families from all parts of the Reservation now live in Ajo, and it may contribute to the growth of tribal unity.

[461] Working on a definite schedule in the white fashion is not a normal life for the Papago, but he seems to be able to adjust, perhaps because he likes the wages, which give him a higher cash income than most people can earn on the Reservation. The wages may compensate for the poor living conditions that in some cities go with jobs for Papago.

641 The general public looks upon these Indians as a lower-class group with a tendency toward drunkenness, and, though they are not subjected to as marked social discrimination as are Negroes,[11] they must endure a certain amount of racial prejudice.

Political discrimination is more apparent. Papago must pay the state automobile tax and income tax and, when they are off the Reservation, the state sales taxes as well. But they do not have the right to vote.[12]

641 186 Since 1924 all Indians born in the United States have been citizens. As such, the Papago are subject to all federal laws and regulations. A few men pay federal income tax, but Selective Service and rationing affected all. The Papago submitted to these wartime necessities with better grace than many groups; despite the difficulties of language and transportation, surprisingly large numbers turned out to register for the draft and for rationing. Rationing was of course difficult for the Papago at first, but after they understood it there were few complaints, and they seldom forgot to bring ration books to the stores. Papago adapted themselves to wartime conditions with the ease and lack of strain which has characterized them throughout their history. One leader in the western districts instructed young men not to register for the draft, but, when he was sentenced to prison for attacking a federal officer, resistance died down. At the time of this study about 1,700 Papago were regis-

11. It is interesting to note that the Papago in turn have borrowed the prevailing white concepts about Negroes. They regard "The Black Ones" as social inferiors, comic characters who are fit subjects for clowns to imitate.

12. On July 15, 1948, the Arizona Supreme Court handed down a decision that Indians in the state would henceforth be entitled to vote.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

tered and 155 were in the armed forces, including 40 volunteers, two of them in the WAC. The tribe also supported the war effort financially; by 1943 the council had invested $10,000 in war bonds, the Papago oversubscribed their quota in the Fourth War Loan by $25,000 and topped their Red Cross quota by $600.

Some of the Papago are conscious of the fact that, though they bear many of the responsibilities of citizenship, they do not have all its privileges. They know that they are the only group in the United States which does not own the rights to minerals under its lands (see chap. iii), and the small number who pay state and federal income taxes resent their inability to vote.[13] It would be interesting to know whether the Papago who have been in the armed forces feel they have risked their lives for a country in which they might be called "second-class citizens." On the whole, and particularly since their participation in the war effort, the Papago are learning what it is to be citizens of the United States. Many of their leaders feel that the day is not far off when they should have the franchise and take an active part in the life of the nation. On July 15, 1948, the Supreme Court of Arizona unanimously overruled a previous contrary opinion, which had been handed down twenty years before, and held that Indians living on a reservation might vote if they fulfil the literacy qualifications required of other citizens.

13. Indians constitute 12 per cent of the population of the state of Arizona. If they should gain the franchise, they might form a strong bloc, but the ethnocentricity of each tribe is such that it would doubtless work against united political action.

[p. 112 is blank]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Pima Indians; he may be related to some of them. Yaqui Indians, with whom Papago do not mingle so freely, also work there. The child may see Negroes working in the fields or perhaps colored troops stationed near Ajo, but the Papago consider "the black ones" social inferiors and do not associate with them.

Mexicans are encountered in many towns near the Reservation. They live near or among Papago who are working in town, and the child may be taken into Mexican stores. But the average Papago child's most memorable contacts with Mexicans occur on the annual pilgrimage to the church of San Francisco in Magdalena. The two-hundred-and-fifty-mile trip is the longest which many Papago children ever make, and they enjoy it to the utmost. The days of preparation are busy ones for the child, who runs many errands and keeps the babies out of the way of hard-working adults. On the way the family may pass through Sells and Tucson and perhaps have a little time to look into the stores. Magdalena itself is a paradise for the child. The booths with their bright clothes, strange foods, and fascinating knickknacks, the crowds in the plazas, the music in the bars and streets—all fascinate him. The blessing received by kissing the statue of St. Francis, he is taught to believe, is worth the long wait in the crowded cathedral, for it is his most powerful safeguard of good health throughout the coming year.

More frequent are trips to towns near the Reservation. Children from the eastern districts go infrequently to Tucson, and all the children from the western villages studied have been in Ajo many times. Nearly all the westerners and many from the East visit the homes of relatives working at the Ajo copper mine. In town Papago children love to go to the movies and buy comic magazines, even though they do not understand English. They spend a few cents for candy and stand about the streets watching all the people, particularly the strange whites. As at the fiestas, little girls stay close to the women, but boys run about by themselves.

For years, school children of the western districts have gone to the municipal Christmas Eve celebration in Ajo. They travel in the school bus and on arrival run about the town square. A uniformed band plays near the huge decorated trees in the park; there is a parade, with Santa Claus in a sleigh, and treats of candy and fruit for everyone. The youngsters enjoy it all, but they usually skip the parade and other preliminaries to establish themselves in line to receive candy. They are not shy and will push as hard as Mexican or white children to get to the front and enter the line a second or third time to get more candy. It does not occur to them that this might be unsportsman-like; the candy is being given away, and the youngsters assume that they are welcome to all they can eat. To them this is a whiteman's fiesta, and at a fiesta the host always says, "Come in and eat; eat all you want." They do.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

of making a ridiculous reply as it is to reserve. The youth will explain to another Papago that he knew what the white was saying, but, unsure of his ability to answer in good English, he just kept quiet.

As a rule, resident whites treat the Indians with friendliness strongly tinged with caution.[3] They respect the Papago and perhaps like certain individuals, but they know that Indians are sensitive in ways unpredictable to whites. The Papago largely reciprocate these attitudes. With rare exceptions, neither group seeks association with the other outside of business hours. The Indians admit that the white man has a peculiar magic which results in economic wealth, and this they frankly covet. But few would care to live with whites or even in their manner. To them, the Desert People remain "the people."

All teen-age Papago make more frequent trips off the Reservation than do their younger brothers and sisters. Boys go whenever they can be spared at home and can find means of transportation; girls are equally interested but must wait on the convenience of some man of the family. A young person of a western district probably has at least one relative who works in the mine at Ajo and lives there with his family; visits to these relatives are great occasions. The relatives in town live in frame houses or in shacks pieced together out of scrap iron, but even the poorest dwellings are likely to have more furnishings than western Reservation homes. Curtains, bedspreads, and tablecloths are in ordinary use, and all cooking is done indoors. With more leisure and cash, town dwellers go to the movies and buy store food, good clothes, and bootleg liquor. These are momentous matters for the Reservation youngsters, and they are quick to imitate their town kinfolk. Girls readily adopt the town styles of dress, but boys can always be recognized as Reservation Indians by their Stetson hats, Levis, and cowboy boots. Clothing, amusements, and the easier living are powerful incentives for young Papago to go and do likewise, i.e., get a job in town.

A great many youth have been accustomed from childhood to going with their families to work in the cotton fields, but late adolescence bring opportunities for work away from home. Older girls who have more than a smattering of English can get jobs as housemaids in Tucson or Phoenix, and many young girls look forward to this opportunity to live independently for a little while before marriage. A wider variety of work is open to boys. With the increased demand for labor during the war, some Baboquivari lads of sixteen to eighteen left the Reservation for several weeks or months to work on railroads or ranches. Since the Papago are known as good workers, they can

3. This paragraph is drawn largely from Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation in the Papago Village of Santa Rosa" (MS).

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

This report is concerned specifically with the role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over 7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican border. These natives speak a Piman language closely related to others spoken from the Gila River south to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call themselves the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--villages with houses scattered barely within sight of each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their lands. They are said to have given up their Indian heritage and are waiting passively to die.

The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo cities. They have chosen to break away from their Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American society, especially by affording them a formal education in public schools.

Most of the Desert People, however, live in rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S. from their former territories. The San Xavier community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms, and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the water table--20 feet below surface) and now is irrigated from wells. Most of it was allotted to individuals, and the useable agricultural and range land is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the fractionalisation of holdings through inheritance. Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to recognize old use-rights more than the legal allotment system.

WHEN? . . . A Hundred Days

000 To city people in southern Arizona "The Hundred Days" are the first hundred or so in the year when the main industry of the area is in high gear . Then tourists from colder parts of the country flood into the cities to pump enough dollars into the commercial system to last the rest of the year.

461 221 The hundred days of the cotton farmer come earlier, after the first of September. And they are really more than a hundred, extending usually into mid-January. But the cotton picking season is just about one hundred working days long--22 picking days to the month (5½ work days to the week).

Summer heat continues into October, and the picking that began about the first week of September with the opening of the first bolls is hot, sweaty work. More and more bolls open until the first killing frost which usually comes in mid-November turning the plants brown. Then leaves fall off and the last bolls open quickly. After that harvesting is a race against time to pick the lint before rain and sun deteriorate it.

464 221 [361] The Desert People begin their annual migration to the cotton fields months earlier to work at cleaning ditches and weeding and thinning the growing cotton. The harvest hands start moving into labor camps in August, and more continue to move in until the peak of the season in November finds perhaps 4,500 Papagos living in Pima and Pinal county camps.

221 The Desert People are old hands at seasonal migrations. For untold centuries they moved back and forth between their fields in the valleys and springs in the mountains where they went after the harvest and the drying up of valley water holes. The present migration out to the labor camps comes a little earlier than harvest time, and interferes with growing crops on the reserves.

221 602 186 182 "Despite the practical difficulties involved, the findings suggest that the development of this physical, social and

[Text continues on p. 22]

psychological base in cooperative family life, with roots in the traditional homeland to counterbalance the wage work cycle is of vital importance to Papago well-being as a firm pivot around which the individual may build his new adjustment to rapidly changing modern conditions. As such, the new dual orientation may well serve as the focus of administrative planning.[1]

However, an increasing proportion of the Desert People who work on cotton farms no longer make an annual migration from reservation home to labor camp. They have moved from the reserves more or less permanently, consciously recognizing themselves as permanent farm workers. Mostly they are irrigators, but do general farm work, and include tractor drivers and other skilled workmen. They contribute some labor to harvesting cotton, since men pick when regular jobs are slack, and wives and children pick off and on. These people made up over a fifth of the Papagos interviewed in the course of this study,[2] indicating that the number of Papagos living on farms outside the reserves all the time is relatively large, perhaps as many as 800.[3] They occupy an important place in the labor picture and economy of the cotton-growing valleys. Their ability to support themselves by wage labor is very important to the economy of the reserves, removing part of the population overload that cannot be supported adequately by the poor lands of the reserves.

This form of adjustment to a radically changed economy has not progressed to its ultimate, however. In South Africa, where European settlers moved in and confined the natives to similar reserves, about 35% of the native population lives permanently on European owned farms.[4] If 800 Papagos live on southern Arizona farms all the time, only about 10% of the population is living on European owned farms outside the reserves. (Perhaps as many live in southern Arizona cities.)

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.
[2] 12 of 53 families, or 22.6%.
[3] About 2,000 Papagos picked cotton in 1950, and about 4,500 lived in labor camps. So approximately 200 Papago men may be working as year-round farm laborers, and their wives add another 200 part-time cotton pickers. Their families are somewhat smaller than those of pickers migrating from the reserves.
[4] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.

464 The movement of the Desert People to permanent
36 homes in labor camps on European owned farms, aban-
166 doning their roots on the tribal lands is a relative-
178 ly new development. While Papagos have worked for
179 Europeans for almost the entire period of contact,
[221] their work has always been brief in duration, a supplemental measure followed by a withdrawal to the homeland. Forsaking overcrowded tribal lands for good seems to have begun only within the last decade, and to have reached significant proportions only in the last 5 years. (Some Papagos have worked for many years as domestics or miners away from the reserves) This late beginning for a class of Papagos severed from their homeland is due to the peaceful nature of contacts between Papagos and Americans and to lack of opportunity for wide-scale farm employment until [422] recent years. The Papago economic base was never [48] destroyed by warfare with the incoming whites as in the case of the Navahos and many other tribes. Over-[161] population on deteriorating reserves did not reach a critical point until about the same time extensive development of irrigated agricultural lands in nearby valleys began, offering a safety valve to those Papagos able to speak acceptable English and perform semi-skilled farm work.

464 This class of Papago farm laborers is very new
166 compared to natives living on South African farms.
171 Most of them have grown up on European farms, without any stake in native reserve areas. Some are descended from natives forced into farm labor by destruction of their cattle in wars nearly a century ago.[1]

The ties native South African farm workers retain with natives living in the reserves naturally depend on the time they have spent on the farms. Some entirely lack relatives or friends on reserves, and have [602] never visited the reserves.[2] A very few Papago year-[592] round farm laborers no longer have relatives on the reservations. But they all still have friends on the [574] trust lands. They all were born on the reserves. They all still visit their old homes, even if only [186] rarely. They are all very conscious that they are Desert People, and are only beginning to view themselves as people apart.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 390.

362 At dusk when breezes are still and hundreds of
361 trucks and cars have returned from the fields to labor camps, stirring up dirt roads, a choking dust pall rises all over the cotton growing valleys. The picker gets his last view of the distant mountains each night through this low hanging dust cloud.

[312] Probably because of the permanent water shortage in both counties, none of the cotton farmers has seen fit to plant cover crops on his labor camp grounds. Nor have any farmers been concerned enough over dust problems to oil either section line roads or camp grounds.

SOCIAL CONTROLS IN LABOR CAMPS

466 Apparently the main desire of many cotton farmers
361 is to have as little to do with their labor camps as
364 possible. This is reflected in the generally messy appearance of the uncared-for grounds in unsupervised camps. It is a rare camp without cotton or tin cans or paper or garbage or all four scattered about.

186 However, lack of supervision is not the only reason
361 southern Arizona labor camp grounds are generally messy
364 looking and not very hygienic. One primary reason for dirty camps is their very nature. Their population is temporary and transient, without any sentimental ties to or pride in the camps. As a result, laborers simply do not care about the appearance of camps, and do not bother to keep them clean. It is interesting to note the exceptional labor camps in the region where workers are employed on a year-round basis, and have time to form some attachment to the camp. Even if these year-round workers must live in tents, they make some attempt to beautify the camp grounds. They try to grow a patch of lawn, or a few straggling castor bean plants, or a rose or some iris—and they keep the grounds around their dwellings neat and clean. An urge to grow something seems especially strong among the Desert People and the Mexican-Americans.

621 Besides this factor of length of residence in labor
361 camps, there is another aspect of social organization in-
364 volved in so many camps being dirty—with operators having a difficult time coercing residents into cleaning them up. This is the fact there is no real social organization extending through the whole camp. The laborers are a miscellaneous lot generally hired as they come